co-operative society, the women's friendly societies of the senior mission of the district, and the beer-brewing groups among pagan women, though in what respects the last is a new development is not stated.

Land Tenure: Cole states that "breakdown to individual tenure" has proceeded—by implication since Administration—even further among Kagoro than among Katab, a conclusion difficult to defend. In fact, the number of adult males per compound (1.6) is smaller than among Katab proper,[80] but it is not clear that this situation is entirely new. Cole notes that in pre-British times it was customary for a clan, lineage or domestic unit "to farm lands in several widely dispersed areas and not in one compact bloc." It would not be surprising if, under these circumstances, the size of the domestic unit had decreased[81] since Administration, but the facts are virtually impossible to establish on the basis of available information, and Cole himself states that the figure for adult males per compound has remained stationary as far back as the records show it (to 1939 only). More important, it would appear that land is normally as much clan property as ever, but, that where clan rights over land have been curtailed in any respect, it is the power of the civil heads, both in the Village-areas and in the District, not the power of the individual, that has grown correspondingly.

It is noteworthy, however, that traditionally the marshlands of Kagoro Independent District were, as Smith observes, *res nullius*, and remained so until 1946. Coco yam and *tumuku* (Hausa) were until that time the main crops, but the introduction of rice in 1941 and its development as a cash crop has given marsh plots a new significance. It was said in 1950 that all marshland was under cultivation. Marsh plots and the crops grown on them are individually owned, but as no case of inheritance has come before the courts, it cannot be said definitely what rights, if any, over marsh plots may accrue to lineages and clans in time.

Miscellaneous: Pig-rearing is an important activity, said to have been introduced a generation ago largely as a result of the efforts of the senior mission in the area, and is approached only by rice-growing as a source of income to the District. Wages may be earned by men in the employ of the missions, the railway, the mining companies in the general area, the army, and the Native Authority.

The principle expenditures of cash, according to Smith, are for meat, most household utensils and metal goods, salt, kerosene, soap, and clothing;[82] to this list tax may be added. Pots are generally bought direct from Ataka potters of Moroa District; for the remainder of the goods listed Kagoro depend on the trading community in the District.

Crafts in the District seem to be limited to basketry, including the manufacture of the *oyam*, by women; house-building, mat-making, and a little woodwork (most notably the woman's headboard) by men.[83]

Regarding "the traditional economy" in general, Smith concludes that no great changes have as yet taken place.

The Life Cycle

Birth

Tremearne reports that among Kagoro there is no "festivity" at the birth of a child, but that a gift is presented to the mother's father, "otherwise the grandfather owns" the child. Apart from these, Tremearne apparently found it impossible to make generalizations: of various accounts which he received he reports only one, that some Kagoro burn the umbilical cord when it is dropped, the ashes are mixed with grease and "rubbed on the child's head to harden it." According to

[80] Cf. discussion of Kagoro domestic unit, pp. 91–2 above.

[81] Cf. contrasting materials produced by Cole from among Jaba of Kwoi (Jaba Independent District), and Jaba of Kachia District, cited below.

[82] Cloth is more common to-day than formerly, but in general Kagoro conform to traditional standards in dress, and the Ankwei ban on cloth at ritual performances appears still to hold.

[83] In this connection Smith notes: "European-type carpentry providing domestic furniture has been assimilated by Kagoro."

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
Kaje
Jaba

Jaba country is an extension of the Kachichere Plateau of Zangon Katab, Kagoro, Moroa and Jema'a Districts, described by Temple as undulating, becoming rugged to the south with thick belts of kurmi in the north. It is watered on the north by the headwaters of the Gurara River, and there are innumerable streams throughout the district which become considerable torrents in the wet season. The soil on the lower level is a rich loam and marshy. 133

The fragmentary traditions ascribed to Jaba suggest an origin in the north, and the gist of Lungu tradition, collected by Hyne (1916) and summarized by Mathews, seems to be that at the time of Moslem expansion in this area (*c.* 1840) eastern Kachia District was the main centre of Jaba settlement, the implication being that the region now designated Jaba Independent (Kwoi) District was occupied only thereafter, under Moslem pressure, by Jaba resisting the Moslem advance (see also below). 173

Economy

Jaba are outstanding as growers of ginger which seems to have been grown in the area at the time of the first reported contact with Europeans, early in this century. Normally their crop—which is of a species not widely valued and not cured in a manner generally acceptable to world-market consumers—is disposed of locally to Hausa and Kanuri traders, who retail it chiefly at the great Kano and Yerwa (Maiduguri) markets. Administration has attempted to " improve " the local product with an eye to the European market, and to introduce the crop among the neighbouring tribes (Kadara, Kaje, Ikulu and others), while at the same time improving market facilities. It is probably too early to estimate the value of these efforts, however. 249

Otherwise, available details suggest that the economy of Jaba does not differ markedly from that of, say, Katab proper, though Jaba of Kachia are in some respects more conservative. The Jaba of Kwoi are more progressive than the Kagoro, although less favourably situated, particularly as regards rail and motor road. Differences of population density (cf. 19 in Kachia with 79 in Jaba Independent District) and in the political situation are at once symptomatic and the cause of the difference in attitudes. 433

As already noted, Jaba of Kwoi were committed to resistance against the Fulani Emirs, while Jaba of Kachia value peace more highly, and the *status quo* which, at peace, they were paradoxically able to preserve under Moslem rule. Endemic warfare, as Cole points out, must have led to the prudent scattering of family holdings in land (cf. Kagoro), in Jaba Independent District, which did not happen in Kachia. The result has been that, as Cole says, the Jaba Kwoi are " a poverty stricken people " compared with Kachia, " who can run to only one wife apiece as a normal rule whereas they [the Kachia Jaba] can run to four or five—even ten on occasions."[184] The Jaba Kwoi youths are " an irresponsible lot " in the eyes of Kachia Jaba, " who go running off to the mines to make money and do not look after their lands properly," while their own youths stay at home and become good farmers on the family land. 648 511

Dress

In dress women generally conform to Katab norms, but Meek indicates that in Kwoi Town women had taken to wearing cloth garments. Tremearne states that Jaba males commonly wore loincloths, rather than skins (cf. Kagoro), even at the outset of contact, though there is an indication that skin was worn on ritual occasions. In facial markings, as in housing, Jaba follow Katab patterns. 291

[184] Whether the exaggeration is Cole's or Jaba informants' is not clear; the only available clearly relevant figures (Barnicot, 1933) show 114 adult males, 123 adult females at Kwaturu in Kachia.